



MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION!

French-Canadian Interference With
Manitoba.

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MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

The Manitoba school question is once again one of, if not the most, burning questions of the day. At the approaching elections the electorate must decide how it is to be dealt with in the next parliament. It is hardly too much to say that in the near future it must be decided whether the French-Canadians' baneful rule, which for so many years dominated Ontario (then Upper Canada), is now to control, not Manitoba only, but the Dominion. Success in the French hierarchy's policy as to the Manitoba schools means victory for the French-Canadians all along the line. Mr. Dalton McCarthy has been the chief defender in Dominion politics of the rights of the people of Manitoba respecting their educational system. For this reason the French-Canadian press has paid a good deal of attention to Mr. McCarthy. The clerical papers, after their usual fashion, denounce the P. P. A.'s, the Orangemen, and the Ontario people generally, and make it appear that dove-like peace would reign throughout the land but for their ferocious bigotry, of which the McCarthy movement is a concrete expression, "supported," says La Verite, "by all the Satanic elements."

The chief accusation levelled at Mr. McCarthy himself is that he is guilty of stirring up a Protestant crusade with respect to education in Manitoba. That is a crime on his part, for the Manitoba school question is a dry, constitutional question to be discussed without a shadow of religious or sectarian bias. This is the line commonly adopted in writings and speeches likely to find their way to Ontario. In appeals intended for French-Canadian ears only, another and a different line is pursued. Mr. Tarte, organizer of the Liberal party in Quebec, goes up and down the parishes thundering to the habitants that it is altogether a question of race and religion, and that they must stand together in a solid column. The attitude of the clergy does not differ from that of Mr.

Tarte. Father Lacasse, the famous Oblat, who is now attached to St. Bridget's parish in Montreal, has something to say about the matter in his recent book, "Le Pretre Venge." In combating the view that the clergy should have helped the "patriots" of 1837, instead of refusing them the sacraments and hustling them off the field, he says: "We are all anxious to see the injustice to which our brethren in Manitoba are subjected put an end to. Suppose, in order to remove that injustice, some amongst us should desire to take up arms and raise the standard of revolt, whilst others desire to employ none but constitutional methods, would it be right to say to the latter, 'You don't love your Manitoba brethren; you are a lot of cowards'? They would reply:—'We are seeking precisely the same end as you, and we are going to adopt means for securing it. Here is what we purpose doing: In every parish, in every county, all the electors, priests and laymen, Rouges and Blues, are going to sign a demand and present it to their Federal member, who will have to sign it himself. Then the members will lay it before Parliament. If Parliament refuses to act upon it, the Catholic Ministers in the Cabinet will resign their portfolios into the hands of the Governor-General, and, becoming private members, carry on the struggle until it is crowned with victory.'

"But the physical force men might say, 'That plan is too slow, and will prove inefficacious.' The constitutional agitators will answer, 'Not as slow as your plans by any means; no ministry can hold out against us; they will soon tender the olive branch.' But the physical force men may retort: 'The Grits and Tories will crush you by forming a coalition.' 'How do you make that out?' the others ask. 'Do you suppose the righteous demands of two millions of Catholics can be successfully resisted by anybody?' Look at what happened in Newfoundland.

Some years ago, during the Orange troubles, the Catholic Ministers of the Crown, with Sir Ambrose Shea and Speaker Kent at their head, resigned their offices. The Protestants joined hands, and formed a Cabinet, which, as they thought, was to last forever; but the Catholic members, aided by one Protestant member, watched their opportunity and bowled over two Administrations in less than no time. It became necessary to solicit their co-operation. They accepted the olive branch. But they imposed a penance on the Orangemen—the construction of a railroad to Placentia Bay, which is inhabited by Catholics. Our constitutional agitators would cite this example and show without trouble that they could win their cause by throwing themselves into Opposition. United with the Catholics of Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Manitoba, they could hurl from power any and every unjust Ministry. The interests of the provinces differ so much that the Protestants could not maintain an understanding amongst themselves on all the issues that would come up, and within a twelvemonth the Catholics of Manitoba would be in possession of their rights. Let me tell you in parenthesis, my friends, that I believe that I am here writing the future history of Canada."

Note the last sentence. Father Lacasse is quite right in saying that the way for Roman Catholics to proceed when they want to achieve their end is not to rush into armed rebellion, but to operate with their solid column in politics. Thus far they have carried everything before them by that means—their religion has been practically made an established religion by law, and they have been clothed with all the attributes, rights and privileges of an imperium in imperio, a State within a State. to the everlasting injury of Canada. But, hearing Mr. Tarte and reading Father Lacasse, how can any French-Canadian, priest or laic, blame Mr.

McCarthy? If the Roman Catholic vote throughout the Dominion, and it is over 40 per cent. of the whole, is to move with banners flying and censers swinging against Government after Government until the curse of dualism and of clerical privilege is riveted forever upon Manitoba and the North West, what else can Mr. McCarthy do as a patriotic British Canadian, but rally such Protestants as he can muster to the defence of the principle of equal rights for all and no privileges for any?

It is interesting to read the carefully prepared statements in clerical newspapers going to show that the Roman Catholic church has always been loyal to Britain, ergo she should be allowed to override the judgment of the Privy Council and the will of the people of Manitoba. To speak plainly, the English in Quebec are getting tired of hearing the story of the church's loyalty. When you examine it by the light of history, you are forced to the conclusion that it was an adulterated and pinchbeck article—that she served the British Crown principally in order to serve herself. A philosopher has described the Roman Catholic church in modern Europe as the ghost of the old Roman Empire sitting enthroned on the grave thereof. In French Canada she is not a ghost, but an exceedingly able-bodied despotism, and the tremendous power she wields over the lives and fortunes, the finances and politics, of this community, has been acquired bit by bit, through making a show of loyalty at opportune times.

FRENCH-CANADIAN TACTICS.

The battle-smoke had hardly rolled away from the Heights of Abraham when the Roman Catholic clergy perceived that it was to their interest to make a friend of the new master. The colony was in a desperate plight; Bigot, the intendant, with his entourage of boodlers and harlots, had robbed it until there was nothing left to steal; France had deserted it; a fresh campaign was out of the question. Large privileges had been ob-

tained for the clergy, and Bishops Eriand and Plessis set to work to wheedle others out of the British Ministry. They succeeded admirably. From being just tolerated, the church soon became a dominant and all-pervading influence, the rival if not the superior of the civil authority.

Her bishops were officially recognized as Catholic bishops. Plessis himself received an imperial pension. The right of the pope to nominate bishops was rendered absolute; that is to say, the rule which prevailed during the regime of France of giving the state the right to object to a nominee who in its judgment might prove dangerous to the supremacy was abolished. When a scheme for promoting primary education, which had been altogether neglected by the clergy, was introduced in 1789, they were permitted to strangle it on the ground that it did not vest control of the schools in them, and the same fate overtook later measures of the same sort. That was the beginning of the separate school controversy in Canada. Long after the division of the colony into two provinces, they were allowed to tithe in the Upper Canada counties of Glengary and Essex. They assert to this day that they have a right to tithe Roman Catholic populations in any part of the region embraced in New France—that is, anywhere this side of the Rocky Mountains. "There is no doubt at all," says the late Dr. D. A. O'Sullivan, in his "Essays" on the Church in Canada, "that the other provinces and territories in Canada, except probably British Columbia and some of the Hudson Bay territory, come within the treaty of 1763 or the Act of 1774," giving the church the status of an established church, with power to tithe and tax her own subjects.

QUID PRO QUO.

How did the clergy accomplish these things? We all know the answer. Mr. Chauveau, in a well-known article in the little work "Le Deuxieme Centenaire," etc.,

which bears the imprimatur of Cardinal Taschereau, has answered by describing the happy effect of the revolution in the American colonies upon the relations between the clergy and the British Government, and also the happy effect of the war of 1812. When Britain was in the midst of those dangers, the clergy stood by her, and then turned round and demanded a quid pro quo. Moreover, as Mr. Chauveau says, the Americans had denounced the Quebec Act of 1774 establishing the Roman Catholic religion, as an outrage upon the polity and future well-being of the New World, and for that the church never forgave them. Then again there was nothing to be gained in the war of 1812 by looking to France; the French Revolution had swept away the whole fabric of clericalism, and mankind were beginning to stand erect all over Europe. If the reader wants full particulars of the wonderfully adroit manner in which the clergy "pulled the wool" over the eyes of the British Ministers and secured privileges more far-reaching than any they had enjoyed whilst the colony belonged to France, let him consult L'Abbe Ferland's biography of Mgr. Plessis.

LOYALTY PAID.

Papineau's rebellion in 1837 furnished another opportunity for turning loyalty to account, and full advantage was taken of it. The Sulpicians of Montreal had sent subscriptions to England for carrying on the war against Napoleon, had subscribed for the erection of a monument to Nelson in Montreal, had sung Te Deums for his and other British victories. In 1837 they lashed the "patriots," and refused them christian burial. And in 1839 or thereabouts they got an Act passed removing a cloud upon their seignorial title to the island of Montreal, whereby they were entitled under the seignorial law to pounce down upon one-twelfth of the proceeds of all real estate transactions, no matter if the property changed hands

every day in the week. Their loyalty was thus transmuted into cash. They are now by odds the richest corporation in Canada. Leave it to Mr. Laflamme, the best independent authority on the subject, if they could not put down dollar for dollar with any three of our banks, including the Bank of Montreal. The church at large made well out of the rebellion. All sorts of arrangements devised to strengthen her position, temporal and spiritual, were rushed through for her, and by the time Upper and Lower Canada were united in 1841, she was secured against any possible attack. When you read the mandements of Bishop Lartigue of Montreal, in which he called the holy angels to witness his loyalty and that of the clergy. You might say "Well done, your lordship, you are serving Britain in her hour of need, and all for the sake of the King of Peace." But when you turn to Lord Durham's report, and find that high authority saying:—"There is every reason to believe that a great number of the peasants who fought at St. Dennis and St. Charles imagined that the principal result of their success would be the overthrow of the tithes and feudal burdens." Your opinion of Mgr. Lartigue as an unselfish patriot has to be called in for revision. The most infamous public crime ever perpetrated in Canada followed the suppression of the rebellion—the extention, by amendments craftily added to the statutes, of the French civil law with its tithes and fabrique taxes to all that portion of Quebec lying outside the French parishes existing in 1763. The Imperial Government had never contemplated such a step. The seigniorial tenure and the French parochial law were established, or, rather, continued in those parishes, but beyond them English law and free and common socage were to prevail. British settlers entered the virgin lands of the Eastern Townships and the Beauharnois district upon that distinct understanding. But after 1841 the English law was gradually superseded

by the French law, and now Roman Catholic bishops have the power to tear Protestant municipalities to pieces, and gerrymander them so as to put French Catholics in control, whilst as a natural consequence of the tithe system the Protestant settler is squeezed to the wall to make room for a Catholic. When the bishops quarrel over a gerrymander with their flocks or with each other, the case is referred to Rome, and Pope Leo the Thirteenth actually determines what a future municipality for a British subject is to be. When the Protestants complain of this monstrous wrong, they are told by the bland sons of St. Sulpice or the blander Jesuit, with a smile on his lips and a twinkle in his eye, that the church was loyal in 1837—and virtue is its own reward.

MANITOBA SCHOOLS.

But let us grant, for the sake of argument, that the Roman Catholic church has all along been loyal to the core, and that her loyalty has never been corrupted by the alloy of self-seeking. What then? What excuse is to be found in fact or in logic in her attitude towards Britian empire has decided that Archbishop Tache and his clergy had no legal rights or privileges so far as separate schools were concerned before 1870, and therefore lost none by the subsequent legislation of the Manitoba Legislature. Nevertheless the church in Quebec has come to the rescue, and an attempt is being made to fasten such schools upon the province by another trick. In 1891 Manitoba contained 21,000 Roman Catholics, mostly half-breeds, and 131,000 non-Catholics, but its future unity is to be sacrificed for the sake of that stationary minority, and to show the world that the church is mistress in the west as well as in the east—a sovereign lady for whom her Majesty and her Majesty's Privy Council must stand aside.

THE CASE PUT STRAIGHT.

Down in the eastern townships they are told that they may look out

for a third rebellion if the church is not suffered to erect and enjoy her special privileges up there. The electors of Ontario will be cravens and in times past, assuming it to have been beyond reproach, for her position on the Manitoba School question? The half-breeds of Manitoba never asked for separate schools or for protection to such schools as then existed when they prepared their Bills of Rights in 1869-70. Alex. Begg's "Creation of Manitoba," gives in full the bills which Riel and others prepared. There was not a word in them about schools or education, but when the last one of all reached Ottawa somebody there inserted a clause about separate schools. Then the Manitoba Act was passed embodying that forged clause, and the trouble began. The highest tribunal in the traitors to their blood if they do not rally to Mr. McCarthy and save the Northwest from the infliction of dualism, which, like the breath of the Eumenides, blasts every community upon which it rests. What say you, Protestants of Ontario? Is that brave man to be struck down simply because, as Father Lacasse throws in our teeth, we do not see eye to eye upon minor issues? Mr. Laurier missed the opportunity of his life when he, the champion of provincial rights, agreed to help, for that is what he is doing, in the suppression of the rights of Manitoba. He is no better than Sir John Thompson was, and Sir John Thompson was what the French call a Jesuit of the short coat—a layman who believed he was serving God and man when he was really serving a vast conspiracy against human freedom.

Sir Mackenzie Bowell, his successor, has announced that the policy of his government is the same as that of the late Sir John Thompson. He, the present premier, was a member of the Privy Council, when in 1891 it adopted Sir John Thompson's report suggesting that if the school laws of Manitoba were sustained that the time would then come for the Dominion Government

to consider the petitions for redress which the Roman Catholics had presented. It is that proceeding which is now binding and by means of it the integrity of the Manitoba school system is not merely threatened, but is in imminent danger.

Relations of the Church to the Civil Authority.

In considering the position of the Roman Catholic church in Quebec in the matter of Manitoba schools, it is well to keep in mind the nature of her aims and ends in Canada. If this is done it must be allowed at least by all who are not Catholics, that while her attempt to fasten Roman Catholic schools on the people of Manitoba is perfectly logical from her standpoint, it is an attempt that should be combatted by lovers of liberty everywhere.

The best definition of the aims and ends of the church that the writer has come across is contained in a pamphlet, "*Quelques Considerations sur les Reponses de Quelques Theologiens*," etc., issued some years ago in Montreal. The question under discussion was the minor relation of the church to the civil authority—whether parishes can be erected in this country without civil sanction, and so on. Two priests, representing, it was said, Laval University, had set forth a number of answers to one or two questions propounded by the late Archbishop Bourget and Bishop Langevin. Other priests took issue with and made rejoinder to the Laval men, and were deemed to have demolished their position. So far as is known the rejoinder has never been published in English. It is too long to be given in full, but appended is a condensation of some of the doctrines it lays down touching the rights and prerogatives which it is essential for the church to strive after in Canada. The reader who is

familiar with the Syllabus does not need to be told that the writers are simply paraphrasing its postulates and dogmas:—

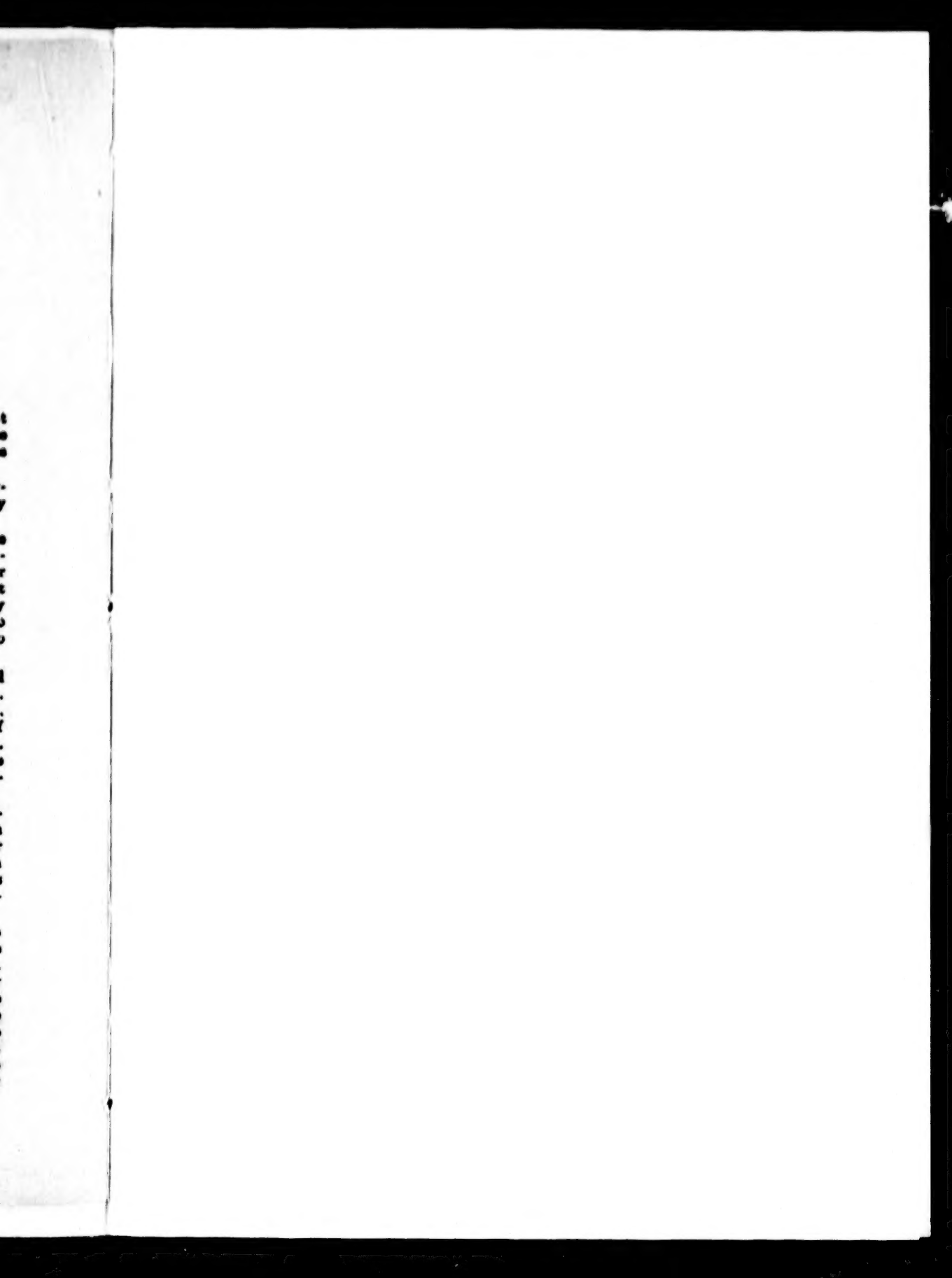
(1) The Church is a true and perfect society within herself, the only divine institution in the world.

(2) Hence she should enjoy the most absolute power within her jurisdiction, and it is for her and her alone to determine the extent of that jurisdiction. The civil authority does wrong when it undertakes to define the power of the Church, or to set limits to her jurisdiction.

(3) Hence, also, the Church should be the only religion in the State. All other cults should be excluded, by force where the employment of force is practicable and expedient. Wrong has been done by those countries which permit the public exercise of Protestant cults.

(4) The State has no right to assume the control of public education or to interfere in the discipline or studies of schools or in the selection of teachers. These are the functions of the Church and of the parent subject to the Church.

(5) In case of conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil authority, the civil cannot be allowed to prevail. The divine authority exercised by the Catholic Church ought to be supreme. When it comes to the question of jurisdiction in the sphere of education or of any other subject within the divine authority of the Church, kings and princes and their



courts of law have no rights or standing at all in the sight of God.

The writers point out with sorrow that, although the Church wields large powers in Canada, the ideal state of things just described has not been attained. Especially deplorable is the fact that "in this country religious freedom and liberty of conscience are tolerated." But it is the bounden duty of the Church and of her Canadian subjects to strive without ceasing for a more perfect lordship, so that haply "we may see the Syllabus introduced in our political constitution." What shape should the efforts in this direction take? Here is the answer:—

"What we must do is to ask God for good bishops, for bishops who will not restrain the ardour of Catholics when it is devoted to the service of the church, nor hinder their efforts to obtain legislators and governors well disposed towards the church and her rights, and for priests who are learned, devout, holy and submissive to their bishops. We must send to parliament men on whom we can rely. Members must be required to make a frank and open profession of Catholic principles, and a formal promise that those principles shall never be sacrificed. We must have good newspapers, and good men in the learned professions. We must wipe out party divisions. In place of dividing our strength and frittering it away, let us enroll ourselves under one banner, the banner of religion and patriotism. Lastly, let us be devoted children of the church and listen to the teaching of her infallible head, disavowing what he disavows, approving that which he approves, and seeking to apply everywhere, to our institutions, laws and government, the counsels given by the sovereign pontiff, or by those who speak in his behalf."

These being her principles and this her programme, it is perfectly natural that the Church should represent the judgment of the highest tribunal in the Empire in the Mani-

toba school case, as well as the action of the majority in Manitoba. But it is equally plain that a serious responsibility rests upon all those Canadians who do not believe that the Syllabus would be a good substitute for the British North America Act. Yet what can be done under existing circumstances? Can the electors afford to put their trust in the two old parties, each whispering to their liege lady that Codlin's the friend, not Short?

Mr. Clarke Wallace warns us that we must not stir up strife, that toleration is a virtue, and love of our neighbor essential to righteousness. But what application have those excellent truisms to the present situation? It is not sheer insolence to preach to Manitobans the duty of submission whilst an arrogant hierarchy overrides their constitution as expounded by the court of last resort? There was once a somewhat famous writer in France by the name of Sorbieres. He was a Protestant, but he threw in his lot with the Catholic party to obtain promotion, whereupon another writer described him as "a Protestant by birth and a Catholic by trade." One never thinks of Sorbieres without being reminded of Mr. Clarke Wallace in his new role. Veuillot, the Ultramontane, has told us frankly where the Roman Catholic Church stands upon the question of toleration. "She demands," he said, "the right to have her own way by virtue of your principles, but refuses you the right by virtue of her own." How is it possible to tolerate intolerance of that sort without becoming its victim?

There is but one course for patriotic British-Canadians to adopt, and that is to rally to the McCarthy standard. French-Canadian speakers say Mr. McCarthy wants to drive the Roman Catholic children of Manitoba into the "Greenway Protestant," the "Godless Greenway" schools. Perhaps the same thing is said in Ontario. But read Mr. McCarthy's speeches, he does not wish to do anything of the kind. All he

seeks is to uphold the right of the people of Manitoba, secured to them by an authoritative interpretation of their constitution, to determine whether they shall put all Churches upon an equal footing with regard to education, or whether they shall select one for special favours and allow her, at the public expense, to use a number of the schools for inculcating her particular tenets. That is the whole of Mr. McCarthy's offence. What gruels the old Liberals is to find Mr. Laurier and Sir Richard refusing to aid him in vindicating the rights of Manitoba in so vital an affair, they who raised such a tremendous rowdew when the question of provincial rights in Ontario turned upon the rights of the legislature to permit one lumberman to use the improvements of another, and in Quebec upon the rights of the Legislature to pass a still more trumperry measure. Mr. Laurier and Sir Richard, the late Sir John Thompson and Mr. Foster, the entire House of Commons with the exception of thirteen, agreed that Quebec had the right to rip up a settlement made by Britain a hundred years ago, and endow the Jesuits out of a bankrupt treasury for the better prosecution of the war against Protestantism. Yet the same men, Grits and Tories alike, hesitate to acknowledge that Manitoba has the right, although the Privy Council has ruled that she has, to exclude Roman Catholic privilege from her system of education. Why should the electors trust such rulers any more? How can the English of the eastern townships feel secure under them against the solid column marching, with the ten thousand of ecclesiastics of Quebec at its head, to erect the Syllabus upon the grave of all that remains to them of British freedom? What does Ontario intend to do? Have the people of Ontario no sympathy to bestow upon kinsmen in Manitoba or upon the vanishing English garrison down in the eastern townships. For God's sake, look sharp after liberties, already mu-

tilated by the common enemy so far as authority over public education is concerned.

There are special reasons why English-speaking Liberals of Quebec condemn Mr. Laurier's pusillanimous course. No one knows better than he how much injury has been done to the intellectual development of the French-Canadian people by clerical domination in the schools. The number of religious orders is increasing year by year. When the Roman Catholic countries of Europe eject an order, it spreads its black wings, takes flight across the Atlantic, and swoops down upon the habitation. The following is a list, taken from the official "Canada Ecclesiastique" for 1893, of the religious orders of males now in Quebec (Sulpicians, Oblats, Viatores, Basilians, St. Vincent de Paul, Dominicans, Carmelites, Trappists, Little Brothers of Mary, Brothers of St. Gabriel, Capuchins, Jesuits, Christian Brothers, Holy Cross, Resurrectionists, Brothers of Sacred Heart, Redemptorists, Franciscans, Company of Mary, Brothers of the Christian Instruction, Congregation of the Sacrament).

The religious order of females are even more numerous:—Augustines, Congregation of Notre Dame, Grey Nuns, Good Shepherd, Sisters of Providence, Sisters of Seven Dolours, Sisters of Charity, Sisters of St. Anne, Sisters of the Presentation, Sisters of the Precious Blood, Sisters of the Rosary, Sisters of Wisdom, Sisters of St. Martha, Ursulines, Hospitalieres, Sisters of the Sacred Heart, Sisters of the Cross, Sisters of Holy Names, Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of the Heart of Mary, Sisters of the Assumption, Sisters of Jesus-Mary, Sisters of Carmel, Sisters of St. Joseph, Little Sisters of the Poor, Sisters de St. Dominique.

Some of these orders, both male and female, are rich; all are powerful. The Sulpicians could buy out half of the Protestant denominations in Ontario and not feel it. Besides the orders there is the army of parish clergy, 2,000 strong. The aggre-

gate wealth of the church and of the orders is placed by a low estimate at \$125,000,000. She commands the Provincial Executive, the Legislature, and the municipal bodies. To help her in her work she is allowed enormous exemptions. One-sixth of all the property in Montreal is exempt, mostly on her account. In fifty-two parishes outside of Montreal, 50 per cent. of the property is exempt. In some there is more exempt than taxed. In Mr. Laurier's own village of Arthabaskaville the property taxed is valued at \$146,000 that exempt at \$221,000. But what has been or is being done by this stupendous organization for the education of the masses? A "map of intellect" would display the Province of Quebec as the most backward and least enlightened spot in North America, with the exception perhaps of certain negro and creole districts down South. Intelligent French-Canadians deplore the wholesale illiteracy. Men like ex-Governor Nason are trying to compel the religious orders which teach in the schools to undergo an examination, to diminish the time devoted to catechism, and increase the time allotted to the three R's. Others demand that time should be given to the teaching of English, if only for the sake of those children who later on will migrate in New England. Most perceive that no adequate reform can be hoped for until the schools are removed from the control of the church. At the last session but one of the Legislature, Mr. Pinault, member for Matane, introduced a bill requiring that school trustees should be able to read and write, but it was rejected by the Government, on the ground that if it became law it would be impossible in many parishes to find trustees. Could anything worse be said of the condition of primary education?

Now Mr. Laurier knows all this and Mr. Mackenzie Lowell has been long enough associated with Roman Catholics to know it. Yet, passively if not actively, both are helping the

church to inflict the same wretched system upon Manitoba, notwithstanding the protest of the majority of the people, backed by an imperial decision that the people have a constitutional right to forbid such an outrage.

Once more. Are the two old parties—one led by a Roman Catholic and the other by an ex-Grand-Master, dominated, however, by Roman Catholic influence—fit to be trusted in the present emergency? If they succeed in putting Manitoba in irons, then good-bye to all hopes for a counterpoise in that quarter to clerical domination in the older provinces, and farewell forever to the dreams of a broader national life for our country and a more stable basis for her British institutions. This is the stake upon the table. Gentlemen of Ontario, make your play.

Direct and Indirect Expenditure on Ecclesiasticism.

In this paper it is purposed to say a few words about the financial condition of Quebec, because it has a direct bearing upon Federal politics in general and upon the McCarthy movement in particular.

The population of Quebec in 1891 was 1,488,000. The Protestant minority numbered 186,000, the Roman Catholic majority, 1,292,000. The people pay three sets of taxes: 1. Indirect taxes to the Dominion treasury. 2. Direct taxes to the Provincial treasury. 3. Direct taxes to the Roman Catholic church.

The indirect taxes to the Dominion treasury consist mainly of Customs and Excise duties. The direct taxes paid in the Provincial treasury for the year ending June 30, 1893, consisted of license taxes, taxes on commercial corporations, the tax on transfers of property, law stamps, registration stamps, and so on. The direct taxes paid to the Roman Catholic church, and collectable by law, are the tithes and fabrique taxes. In some dioceses where the growing of cereals has declined, hay is tithed at so much per botte or bundle, and a cash tax levied. It is true the Protestant minority does not pay tithes and fabrique taxes, but in most places their assessments for local taxation are purposely swollen so as to compel them to pay a share of the rate that by right should fall on their Roman Catholic neighbors. The tax on commercial corporations comes largely out of Protestant pockets in the first instance, but in the last

analysis is paid by the community at large. The fabrique taxes are becoming enormous. There is a perfect craze among the priests for tearing down old church edifices and erecting gorgeous new ones.

The direct and indirect taxes do not represent the whole burden, by any means. The exemptions on clerical account are a heavy load. There are municipalities where fifty per cent. of the whole assessed value is exempt, others where the value of the property exempt actually exceeds that of the property taxed. Then the people have to support the religious orders. The names of these was given in a former paper. (See last week's issue). From a hasty examination of the statistical information furnished by the official hand-book, *Le Canada Ecclesiastique* for 1893, it appears that their aggregate membership exceeds 4,500. The most numerous order is the Congregation of Notre Dame, which has 750 nuns in Quebec and 70 in Ontario. There is no law by which the people can be compelled to maintain this army; all the same it is by their sweat and toil that it is maintained. The Protestants have to contribute or see their stores and shops boycotted. Adding the "religious" to the secular or parish clergy, and counting the clerical professors and teachers in colleges, there are over 6,500 ecclesiastical persons to be supported by 1,300,000 Roman Catholics, or one ecclesiastic for every 200 men, women and children. At this rate

Ontario, with a population exceeding two millions, would require 10,000 ecclesiastics, and the United States a host of 300,000.

There is not space to speak of the miscellaneous ways and means reported to provide food, clothing, buildings and travelling expenses, etc., for the "religious"—the bazaars, concerts, collections, house to house begging, etc. The Provincial treasury is drawn on to provide for a great many of them. Directly or indirectly, the church, with her orders, handles a very considerable portion of the yearly expenditure. Here are some of the larger items (Public Accounts, year ending June 30, 1893) which she controls in whole or in part:

Education.....	\$371,000
Reformatories and prisons..	88,000
Asylums.....	300,000
Charities.....	56,000

\$ 815,000

It might be said that the church spends, or oversees the spending of, one-third of the whole provincial revenues, less the subsidies from Ottawa. Last year the gross revenues were \$5,600,000, but of this \$1,150,000 was money borrowed for the bankrupt treasury, and \$1,300,000 Dominion subsidies. The revenue, excluding the subsidies and loans, was \$3,150,000, and it is quite sure the church had to do, one way or another, with \$200,000 more than the sum of the foregoing items.

The orders teach in the primary and higher schools, and conduct the asylums, prisons, reformatories and charities. Give an order a per capita grant that is so much a year for each inmate, as they do, and it very soon has charity in full blast, even if it has to make inmates of persons who have no business to be there. As an order grows in numbers, the members have to go out from the mother house and find something to do. The per capita system enables them to start an institution of some sort by simply collecting inmates,

and the more inmates they drum up the larger their income. It is a vicious method, as anyone can see, for besides being hard on the treasury and leading to the multiplication of orders, it puts a premium on the manufacture of inmates, and on the growth of sloth and immorality among the people. These are harsh words, but think of the iniquity uncovered by Dr. Tuke, the English alienist, when he found a number of perfectly sane persons herded with lunatics in a Quebec asylum, in charge of an order, so that the order might draw the grant for each of the victims, or go into one of their refuges for infants or girls and see for yourself the still more deplorable results.

The nuns deserve the highest credit for their self-sacrifice. This does not attack them, but the policy pursued at the instance of their church. If the per capita plan is in vogue in Ontario with respect to charities—we in Ontario do not as yet let the orders conduct prisons and asylums—then it is safe to assert at a hazard that the money received by Roman Catholic institutions is out of proportion to the bona fide requirements of the Roman Catholic population, and that the number of "religious" in Ontario is increasing much faster than the population.

In Quebec the Provincial Government advances money to the orders to enable them to build religious houses, which money is never by any chance repaid. Of late the orders have been taking to agriculture, and as farmers manage to get bonuses and grants without trouble. The Trappists at Oka, where the Protestant Indians were driven out by the Seminary of St. Sulpice, got a grant of \$500 for their farm in 1893, and another of \$940 for "distributing trees." At Roberval, in the Lake St. John district, the Ursulines, under Mother St. Raphael, have a farm for which they got a grant of \$440; and so it goes. The agricultural societies, which received grants last year to the amount of \$50,000, are passing

under the control of the clergy; and a large proportion of the money spent on colonization roads (in counties from one to two hundred years old) is handled by the parish priests, who act as road-masters.

This brief sketch will give the reader some sort of an idea of the extent of direct and indirect expenditure on ecclesiasticism. From the nun who comes to your door for a quarter towards the erection or maintenance of her convent, from the parish priest who collects his tithes and sacramental dues, from the bland Sulpician, with \$50,000,000 in the coffers of his order, who insists on this piece of land or the other being exempt from taxation—from these and others like them, to the ecclesiastics who put their hands into the provincial treasury for the immense sums enumerated, the church and her vast revenue is fattening on the dumb toilers of the province, and the poor Protestants necessarily suffer with the rest. So, for that matter, do you in Ontario. In no other country of the modern world has clericalism such a carcass for its vultures.

What is the consequence? The consequence is that the people cannot afford to pay for those purely local improvements which in Ontario are carried on at the expense of the municipal ratepayer, and the cost of them is thrown on the provincial treasury; secondly, the province itself is drained so completely that it cannot afford to rid itself of the debts it has contracted on account of those local improvements, and of work like railroads of more than local importance. In 1893, \$48,000 was spent in buying iron bridges for municipalities; \$153,000 in enlarging the Montreal courthouse; \$10,000 for a courthouse at Hull; \$7,000 for a gaol at Bryson; \$80,000 on highways under the pretence that they are colonization roads, and so forth. In Ontario all such items would have been properly saddled on the municipal ratepayer. Then again, their municipalities are too poor to give

much to railways. The Ontario municipalities have given freely, but here almost the entire burden has been cast on the provincial treasury because the ratepayers bones have been picked by the church. To cut a long story short, they are beggared, and their own politicians must once more get "better terms" at Ottawa or know the reason why.

To be sure, it is a monstrous fraud on you Ontario people that you should be called upon to assume the greater part of a provincial indebtedness so contracted—that you should be compelled, literally speaking, to pay periodically towards the maintenance of the Roman Catholic church in Quebec.

But what are you going to do about it? Mr. Mercier boasted—he said as much in the legislature not long ago—that he could get "better terms" if Mr. Laurier wins at the next election. The late Mr. Mercier ought to have known. It was the money "conveyed" by Mercier's friends from government contracts that gave Laurier Quebec at the last election. On the other hand, the French-Canadian Ministers in the Ottawa government whisper it about that if Quebec stands by Sir McKenzie Bowell, he will deliver you when the elections are over. Aside from the cogent party considerations involved, both Bowell and Laurier are interested, one as a Roman Catholic, the other as depending on Roman Catholic support—in seeing that the church is upheld in her present proud position, and both know quite well that unless "we get better terms" the mere pressure of poverty must bring about her downfall at the hands of the people of Quebec.

This is a vital question for the Dominion at large. Give Quebec "better terms" and the church can go on as heretofore, devouring our substance and quartering new legions of her black militia upon us as often as Europe drums them out. Refuse "better terms" demand that Quebec shall pay its own way as Ontario does, and the habitant, goaded by

his poverty and incited by his friends in New England, will pull down the whole fabric, and ecclesiasticism shall sing its own dirge in the spirit of the words :—

Nor blade of grass again was seen
Where Alaric and his hosts had been.

History teaches that the poverty of the people has proved fatal to every rapacious theocracy ; as the philosophers say, the causes of all revolutions of the kind have been mainly economic causes, and so it will be in Quebec.

Who but Mr. McCarthy can be trusted to see that this mediaeval despotism shall no longer be allowed to feed upon the taxes of the Protestant provinces contributed under the form of "better terms" ? Let Mr. McCarthy hold the balance of power at Ottawa, and Quebec will at once be face to face with the question, which the peasant of Old France and the peasant of Mexico answered with such a tremendous and fearful negative, "Shall we bleed forever in our own person that these apostolic men, with neither purse nor scrip, may count their corporate millions ?" It will not take the people long to make up their minds. We shall soon see, on a smaller scale, a repetition of the spectacle that ushered in human liberty when "the moan of a suffering people was borne on the air announcing that the day of reckoning had dawned, and the exalted church of France fell down in ruin, and the dust thereof went up like the smoke of a furnace." This is why, amongst other reasons, the English-speaking Liberals of Quebec are going to vote for Mr. McCarthy.

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